3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

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[Title Page]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

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AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WURYĀGHIL (*)

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101 Aith Wuryāghīl is not only the biggest and most important tribe
[161] in the Rīf, but the most heavily populated in the whole of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, totaling some 65.000 people at the present time. It is delimited on the north by the Bay of Alhucemas and by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the tribes of Buqqūya, Banī Yaṭṭuft and Targīst; on the east by the Nakūr River and the tribes of Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn; and on the south by Aith Mazdūwī, Aith 'Ammarth and Gizināya (the last mentioned being just over the
101 border in French Morocco). Although Targīst and most of Banī
197 Yaṭṭuft are Arabic-speaking, the other tribes all speak the Riffian dialect of Berber. Aith Wuryāghil, Aith 'Ammarth and northern Gizināya form, in particular, a Central Riffian linguistic bloc where Arabic is known only by a tiny literate minority. This dialect, called *Shilḥa* in Arabic and *Thamāzighth* in Riffian, is stronger in the Central Rīf than in any other part of northern Morocco, which gives an indication of the conservatism of the people who speak it. The three
101 nuclear Riffian tribes have all retained in large measure many of

(*) Excepcionalmente se ha conservado el sistema de transcripción usado por el autor del artículo, aunque difiere del adoptado por esta Revista (N. de la R.)

[P. 51]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

101 their archaic Berber cultural patterns in the face of an ever-increasing Arabization. For this reason, I use the Berber term *Aith* (sons of) rather than its Arabic equivalent *Banī*, which has become current in the literature. Although a tribesman who does know Arabic will say *Banī* when speaking of his tribe to a stranger, he will employ *Aith* when in conversation with his own people. I have also singled out the tribe of Aith Wuryāghil as the object of this article not only because, at the time of writing, I know it much better than the other Riffian tribes, but because, as it is the largest and most powerful of all of them, it has always taken the leading role in the past history of the Rīf, and it has, on most occasions, called the turn to the other tribes when necessary. The presence of Aith Wuryāghil, with that of Gixnāya, in the confederation of the Ṣinhāja during the great Ṣinhāja-Ghumāra war was what won that war for the former group; and in recent times the tribe produced ʿAbd al-Karīm, of whom we shall say more later on.

133 Running in a northeast-southwest direction, the tribal territory, 1028.5 square kilometers, consists, in the north, of an open alluvial plain bordered on the east by the mountains of Tamsamān; this plain overlooks the Mediterranean and forms the Bay of Alhucemas. Further south it gradually ascends into and merges with the brown, barren and eroded mountains which are such a characteristic feature of the Riffian landscape; these are bisected by arroyos and high valleys, and in Aith Wuryāghil they culminate in the rugged massif of Jabal Ḥammām (1948 meters), which is covered with snow in [137] January and February. Vegetation consists largely of scrub and 132 lentiscus bushes. Except in the highest altitudes, rain is infrequent even in the winter; the so-called «levante», coming from Spain, brings it suddenly and in the form of flash floods, which change the two sluggish rivers in the tribal territory, the Ghīs to the west and the Nakūr to the east, into raging, torrents. In the mountains the winters, although not long, are cold, but snowfall is much less than in Aith ʿAmmarth or in the Ṣinhāja Srair to the southwest, where the mountains are considerably higher. The rest of the year the climate is warm and usually so dry as to produce only a bare subsistence economy.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

241 near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurirt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing
[312] broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures
[313] and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and
[585] threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

675 464 Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Caravan, The Story of the Middle East**, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: **Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa**, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rif, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

423 mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing.
312 Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on
562 fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to
515 freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

312 671 It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfīqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfīqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'īz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

adequate provisions, sanctioned by custom, for its apportionment had not been made long ago. Because of the relative constancy of its flow, those who irrigate with its waters know that the quantity they can expect is more or less the same at any time of year. Thus the *qānūns* dealing with irrigation in the Lower Ghīs specifically state that any man who purchases land there must buy his irrigation turn independently. Due to the fact that these *qānūns* have been drawn up in Arabic by the *'adūl* or notaries public for all to see and abide by, and to the additional fact that all the land on both banks of the river belongs to Aith Wuryāghil, disturbances of social equilibrium about irrigation water there, although far from uncommon, have been considerably less great than they might have been.

The Nakūr, however, is something else again. Although it irrigates about eight times as much land as the Ghīs, it nevertheless loses much of its potential through infiltration. While in winter I have seen it overflow its banks during a heavy storm, it becomes reduced to a muddy little creek in summer. Owing to its volume capacity, however, its irrigation *qānūns*, in this case unwritten, provide that anyone who buys land there automatically has a right to irrigation water as well, because most of the year there is a sufficient quantity for all. But the hitch is that Nakūr water irrigates not only Aith Wuryāghil but Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān as well. Although the Spanish administration has fixed the river as the boundary between Aith Tuzīn and Ṭamsamān on the east bank and Aith Wuryāghil on the west, individuals and families from each of these three tribes still own land on the bank opposite them. In the past the river functioned less as a boundary than as a zone of transition, and because of the unclear but traditional and conservative application of customary law, there was ample opportunity for feuds to develop, which they did with great frequency, particularly in summer when the water supply was low. The *shaikh ar-fijjāḥath* (Ar. *shaikh al-fillāḥa*) or *aquwwām* of each of the opposing tribes met to parley in case of a blatant infraction of custom, such as getting water out of turn; he was backed up by his respective constituents, all of whom were armed to the teeth. In case of a general melee, Aith Wuryāghil, being the most powerful, usually won, particularly if Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn were in disagreement with one another.

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3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal
[361] considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located
[356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of
351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door
[354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored
[251] beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an
[417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha*) is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

596 the essential features of the *jājghū* as an extended family group but its importanoe in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called *thārfiqth* (pl. *thārfiqin).*

618 This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the *jājghū* by inclusion of the families of *all* the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the *jājghū*). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembereb ascendant in the male line and the man from whom the *thārfiqth* takes its name. Within the *thārfiqth,* the various *ijujgha* form its componet parts. Thus, in the *thārfiqth* of Ḥaddūshen or Aith Ḥaddūsh in the village of of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component *ijūjghā* are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muḥammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Ḥaddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the *thārfiqth* of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the *ijūjgha* are the families of Ḥmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A *thārfiqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throught ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *ḥauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen,* sing. *azdīf,* «head») are the elders of each *thārfiq:h.* Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfiqin* in one village to be related to each other.

582 [618] [596] Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* and endogamy within the *thārfiqth.* Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfiqin* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf),* which will be given extensive treatment further on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfīqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jāris, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives **awar** (properly **azwar**), or «vein», and **ighs**, or «bone», corresponding to **jajghu** and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word **ighs** refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

618 596 Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth* did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

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618 628 Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

the greater the number of powerful allies it had to have in order to survive. Periods of peace and quiet were very infrequent events; in the old days every house had a watch tower, forming a second story, in which the owner had a commanding view of the whole countryside. He could thus spot an unwary enemy and drop him dead in his tracks with the greatest of ease and pleasure. The poverty and infertility of the soil was a factor which contributed heavily to an atmosphere of eternal suspicion and mistrust of one's neighbor. Violence was so common that, analyzing it from an anthropological standpoint, Montagne remarks with considerable justification that the concept of the *thārfiqth* obscured and often even obliterated those of the larger political units above it (8). The acceptance of the *dīyath* or blood money by the murdered man's *thārfiqth* was a rare phenomenon; most families, particularly those of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, the political division which has the greatest fighting reputation of all, preferred to keep the feud going. I have been informed that in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh feuding assumed such extreme proportions that, to take one example, the village of Aith Bū Khrif knew *no peace at all* until the Spanish occupation. Another instance on record, cited both by Montagne (9) and Maldonado (10), tells of a feud which started between two *thārfiqīn* of Aith 'Abdallāh, Aith al-Qāsim and Iburāsan; I have personally verified their accounts by conversation with two of the participants.

The shooting began after the murder of a dog which belonged to the guest of the head man of Iburāsan, as the Aith al-Qāsim refused to pay the blood money (50 duros) claimed. Twelve men were killed in combat the first day; each side got its allies and soon the feud spread all through the *farīqas* of Ibunahāren and Aith 'Amar u Ḥmid. In the following years, 40 men died on one side and 62 on the other, in pitched battles alone. This does not take into account the even larger number of those who were shot down in ambush or poisoned with arsenic sold by merchants at Alhucemas. The con-

(8) Montagne, Robert: Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 240.

(9) Montagne, 1930, pp. 239-240.

(10) Maldonado, Eduardo: El Rogui, Tetuán 1952, pp. 33-34.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MX3 Rif MX3

131
631

AITH WURYĀGHIL
ETHNOGRAPHIC DIVISION OF COL. BLANCO
REVISED AND CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR
I 1 AITH YŪSUF U 'ALĪ
2 AITH 'ALĪ
II 3 AITH 'ABDALLĀH.
III 4 AITH ḤADĪFA.
5 AITH 'AMŪR.
IV 6 AITH 'ADHĪYA.
7 AITH BŪ'AYYĀSH.
V 8 IMZĀBDHEN.
(A) AITH TURYRTH
(B) THIMĀRZSHA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF ALHUCEMAS
Beni Yaljuh
Torgist
Thafeouth
Aith Yūsuf
Thigzran (A)
Bulma (A)
(Aith Lotob)
Aith Yuzin
Aith Tzuri
Aith Ishaq
Aith Ya'la
Aith Ya'qūb
Aith Ya'qūb
Aith Ya'qūb

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

628 quered group eventually decided to leave the country; almost no one was left but old men, women and children, who sought refuge in the sacred mountain of Zarhūn (where Mūlāy Idrīs, the first Sultan of Morocco, is buried), after having sold all their property in order to try to hire a man who would avenge their dead. The vengeance plan was carefully worked out, and the *'adūl* made the following stipulations: 10.000 riyāls if the bullet killed an enemy; 5.000 if it wounded one; and 2.500 if it missed its mark. In any event, the hired killer was usually found the next day with a bullet through his own head, due as often as not to the careful marksmanship of a small boy hidden behind a lentiscus bush.

To give further evidence of lengths which the people of Aith Wuryāghil used to go to put their enemies out of the way, I was told by one of my informants that someone had once insulted his father. The father, an *amghār* or councillor of considerable repute in his own village (Aith Mūsā u 'Amar of Aith 'Alī), would not brook the insult, and promised his *akhammās* a new *jillāb* (11) and a considerable sum of money if he disposed of the insulter. The *akhammās* went out on his master's errand, but seems to have had a change of heart somewhere during his journey, for he decided that he personally had no quarrel with the other party. Thus there was no reason to kill him. But, with the prospect of a fat reward in his pocket, he

291 (11) (Riffian **ajdab**): a woolen cloak with sleeves and hood worn by men. In the days before Abd al-Karim it was made of brown home-spun and reached the knees only; today ankle-length jillabs are much more in vogue, and the younger generation prefers them made of European cloth. The old woolen turban, **thaghrafth**, is also no longer worn, and has been replaced by a white cotton turban among the older men; the younger ones, particularly those who have traveled outside the Rif, prefer the tarbush. The trousers have become baggier in recent years as well; the only item of distinctly Riffian clothing which remains is the toe-strap sandal of esparto grass. It is interesting to note that the old short and decorated Riffian jillaba can only be seen today in the Ghumara.

Women's clothing on the other hand, is far more conservative. The women of Aith Wuryaghil wear a silken band around the head, tied in the back, over which is placed a cotton shawl; a long cotton or silk shirt (if cotton, it is white; if silk, red or yellow) coming to the knees, with blue trousers underneath, coming to halfway between knees and feet; and a heavy red woolen belt. Most women go barefoot, but some, like many of the men, have adopted Spanish sneakers (alpargatas). Both sexes wear babouches (Riffian **tharkusen**, Arabic **blaghi**) only on festival occasions, provided they 'are rich enough to afford them.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

628 announced upon his arrival home that he had shot the man and returned undetected. The *amghār* soon learned the truth, and locked up his *akhammās* for three days without food or water. He then sent him packing, after cutting off his ears.

631 Under circumstances like these, in which even women did not dare go to work alone in the fields and in which men always had to carry their rifles to the mosque or to the market, it might seem, carrying Montagne's argument one step further, that no groupings larger than the *thārfiqth* could exist at all. They do exist, however, thanks to the mechanism of the *liff* alliance system, and the next one up the scale is the *jamā'ath* or *dshār*, the «village», a collection of both related and unrelated *thārfiqīn*. I use the word «village» advisedly, nevertheless; its geographical limits, known perfectly by the tribesmen themselves, are difficult for the outsider to discern owing to the linear nature of the terrain and the scattered house distribution. Its site may be determined by the excessive growth of one *thārfiqth*, by the proximity of a spring, by discords and internal struggles, or by any number of other causes. Its two principal requirements are
631 a communal village mosque (there is often more than one mosque to
623 a village) and a local assembly consisting of the headmen *(izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf)* of its component *thārfiqīn*. This assembly is still in large measure the governing body of the village, and it administrates village affairs largely according customary law (*'urf*); under its jurisdiction fall matters relating to individual and family order, theft of small articles such as eggs and poultry and olives and grapes, vigilance of orchards, reparation of irrigation ditches, and the like. It meets once a week in the courtyard of one of the village mosques, or under a wild olive tree, to hear and try cases of local importance. It elects the *faqīh* of the mosque, who gives Qur'anic instruction to the boys of the village, and the *shaikh arfiiiāḥath* or *aquwwām* to direct work in the fields and to oversee the *tawīzas* or corvees working on irrigation projects (12). Today it also elects a moderator to direct and keep order during its meetings; he is usually the village *jārī* or headman. The mosque, school and cemetery are all communal property of the *jamā-*

(12) Paniagua y Santos, José María: «Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif», **Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos**, núm. 4, primer semestre, Madrid, Junio 1948, pp. 1-44. My references on p. 14 and pp. 20-21.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 623 *'ath*, as, in the mountains, is the olive press; the *jamā'ath* also retains an indefinable hold over saints' tombs *(amrābidh*, pl. *imrābdhen)* if there are any in the vicinity. Each village also has its communal pasture lands *(ḥarīm)* and its scrub forests *(ghāba)*; these may neither be sold nor divided up, and are maintained *pro indiviso* for the sole use of the inhabitants of the village in question. These lands, generally, surround the village, and form a vague line of demarcation between it and the next village; their situation and extension are such that a woman, for instance, can go out after sunrise to cut *ghāba* and return home before sunset (13).

631 The next unit up the scale is the minor political division called *farīqath*, which the Spanish administration refers to as «subfraction» This unit usually takes the form of a canton, a single hill-valley- or watershed-unit, comprising some four or five villages. The administration has brought this grouping into sharper relief by putting a *muqaddam* at its head; but this is for administrative purposes only and is not, except in a few cases, a true reflection of the tribal social structure. In the minds of the tribepeople the *farīqath* is ultimately [614] a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *farīqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *farīqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqīn* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque *(thamzīda n khuṭbath)* to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements.

(13) Martos de Castro, José: «Lo bereber en Marruecos y sus relaciones con lo ibero». In Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. My references from pp. 328-333.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Next on the list is the major or primary political section, called either *rba'* (pl. *rubū'*) or *thakhammāsth* (pl. *thikhammāsīn*), which literally mean «fourth» and «fifth», respectively. In Aith Wuryāghil, at any rate, these terms are virtually synonymous, although, functionally speaking, the latter is more applicable to the tribesmen's own concept of the political segmentation of their tribe. Aith Wuryāghil is considered as being divided into five major sections, each of which supposedly claims descent, in its turn, from a common ancestor. It is significant that the tribe as a unit does *not* claim such descent; its traditions of origin show it to be a grafting together of various elements, most of which came originally from Giznāya in very ancient times. But the fact that its people regard themselves as a tribe, as a single unit, in opposition to and when threatened by other tribes, we shall see presently. 631

The five major sections alluded to above are: 1) *Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī*, pronounced «Aith Yūsuf Wārī» (with *Aith Turīrth*) and *Aith 'Alī* pronounced «Aith 'Arī» (with *Thimārzgha*), the two of which traditionally constitute a single division, by virtue of their descent from two brothers, Yūsuf u 'Alī and 'Alī u 'Alī; 2) *Aith 'Abdallāh*; 3) *Aith 'Arūs* (with *Aith Ḥadīfa* and *I'akiyen*); 4) *Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh* (with *Aith 'Adhīya*); and 5) Imrābdhen. With the exception of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Aith 'Abdallāh, who maintain their territorial holdings as solid blocs, all the other divisions have their principal lands in the mountains and enclaves in the plains, or vice versa, and the Imrābdhen, the descendants of Arab *shurfā* as their name, in Riffianized Arabic, indicates, form a supplementary division the segments of which are distributed throughout the whole tribal territory. We see in these divisions the historical basis of the two *lifūf* (sig. *liff*) or political moieties of Aith Wuryāghil, Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'Alī, which became crystallized through the struggles between the descendants of the two brothers Yūsuf and 'Alī; these descendants form, as we have seen, a single *thakhammāsth* or «fifth». In the first *liff*, headed by *Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī*, fall Imrābdhen, allied by marriage with the former since their beginnings Aith 'Arūs (with Aith Ḥadīfa and I'akiyen), half of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and, in case of an intertribal war, the tribe of Aith 'Ammarth; in the second *liff*, *Aith 'Alī*, are Aith 'Abdallāh and the other half of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

63| Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith 'Adhīya). Although the second *liff* was the smaller of the two, its fighting strength was heavily reinforced by Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith 'Adhīya, both of which groups have very bellicose reputations. Aith Ḥadīfa and Imrābdhen are weaker sections, on the other hand, while the presence of half of the «fifth» of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh in each *liff* shows how divided within itself this biggest and most warlike of all the divisions used to be. It is also appropriate to point out that only in connection with «fifth» of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī (later to produce 'Abd al-Karīm) and Aith 'Alī does the term *rbā'*, in Wuryāghlī parlance, differ in political significance from *thakhammāsth*; Ait Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and Aith 'Alī are considered as separate *rubū'* belonging to the same *thakhammāsth*, implying, somewhat paradoxically, that a «fifth» is larger than a «fourth». In all the other major sections the terms are used interchangeably, although at the present time *rbā'* takes precedence, as. under the Spanish administration, there are six and not five administrative divisions in the tribe, two in each of three «caidatos». Referred to by the administrations as «fractions», these consist of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Imrābdhen in the caidato of Uṭa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Ḥadīfa in the caidato of the Upper Ghīs, and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jabal (Aith 'Arūs, Aith Turīrth of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Thimārzgha of Aith 'Alī) in the caidato of Nakūr.

Aith Wuryāghīl, being the biggest tribe in the Spanish Protectorate, has been given the status of a separate «comarcal» by the administration, and each of the three caidatos is governed by a *qā'id*, who is assisted in his duties by a *khalīfa*. Under and subject to him are the *shiyūkh* (sing. *shaikh*) of the rubū' or «fractions», each of whom is also assisted by a *khalīfa*. The qā'id presides over his tribunal *(maḥkāma)* every week in the principal market of the caidato In addition, special «fractional» juntas were created as of 1952 by the administration; these are made up of all the *muqaddamīn* (sing. *muqaddam)* of the «subfractions» *(farīqath)* and of all the representative (*ukīl*) of the villages, usually the village *jurā'ī* (sing. *jārī*). This junta, which meets every three months in the «fractional» mar-
63| ket, is presided over by the *shaikh*. Its principal duty is to carry
65| out the collection of the *tartīb*, the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on each head of livestock and on each hectare

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aith Arba'in*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing immediately, and the council members, lea-

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

68
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ving well enough alone, did not bother to interfere until after it was over, when the number of dead on each side was totaled up and excess blood money was paid to the party with the greater casualties. The *ḥaqq* was paid to the *imghāren* as well for the necessity of calling them together; but if one of the «fifths» failed to send its delegates to the *aghrau*, it received no money at all. A *sharīf* or *qāḍi* was always present at the peace negotiations to act as moderator, and he and the *imghāren* ate at the expense of and slept in the houses of the *thārfiqth* heads in the vicinity of the meeting site.

However, if a murder was committed on a Muslim feast day or in a market, or at a time when peace prevailed, the *imghāren* rushed in a body to the murderer's house to call him to account for his action. In case of murder on the road to or in the market itself, the *ḥaqq* was doubled to 10.000 pesetas, owing to the market's sacred character as a place of peaceful trade to which came not only Wuryāghlīs, but people from other tribes as well. If the murderer was unable or unwilling to pay this, which almost always meant that he had to sell all his property, the *imghāren* proceeded to burn down his house. (This was the case in the Bay of Alhucemas; among the mountain Wuryāghlīs and in northern Giznāya, a murderer had to suffer both *ḥaqq* and houseburning, the latter as a symbolic act of vengeance meted out to him by the whole tribe in the person of its body politic, for disturbing tribal peace as a whole and for committing his crime in an area which belonged to the tribe collectively.) If the murderer and his family still resisted, they had a war with the assembled *imghāren* on their hands as well as with the dead man's kin. If the *imghāren* and their cohorts won, as they usually did, they burned down the houses of the other members of the murderer's *thārfiqth* in addition, and the latter had to flee to another «fifth», another tribe, or out of the Rīf entirely for a period of at least two years, when, if they made peace overtures in the proper manner, they might be permitted to come back. But the Riffians are a proud people; if they returned at all, it was most often with revenge in mind Needless to say, there are numerous little colonies of Riffian exiles all over Morocco; many Wuryāghlīs and their descendants are to be found both in Tangier and in Fes. It may thus be seen that it was

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

to the interest of the murderer and his family to come to terms quickly, for if they tried to go against the council, their days were numbered.

The *imghāren* were the real power in the land, and although the Sultan used to nominate *quyād* (pl. of *qā'id*), these were usually nothing but *imghāren* whose local prestige was slightly greater than that of their fellows. In Aith Wuryāghil, the *Bilād as-Saiba* par excellence, a *qā'id* could not govern in the same manner as he did an Arab tribe; if he tried to institute reforms without having the force to back them up, he was likely to be quietly done away with. It was the assembled *imghāren* of all the «fifths» who dictated policy if the tribe was threatened from outside. They declared war, treated for peace, and contracted alliances with other tribes, and they did so jointly. The Riffians are democratic almost to the point of anarchy, and if any man was considered better than his neighbor, it was only because he had more brothers or cousins to help him out in case a fight started. The excellent description given by Coon of what is apt to happen at the meeting of an *aghrau* affords us a wonderful insight into the Wuryāghlī character.

> «... The locality depends on mutual convenience. Each fifth occupies a section of the circle. A moderator talks to the members until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. - The moderator now having received the instructions of his constituency, he approaches the center of the circle, and the councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and express their readiness to defend their spokesman if he gets into a violent argument. They discuss the matter at hand all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator, and for one member to bid another to be quiet would be ample excuse for murder. Moderators of a fifth usually agree within themselves and the argument soon develops into a consideration of how many fifths favor one opinion and how many the other. The moderator of one fifth may lead the moderator of another aside and whisper to him outside the ring, trying to bribe him to come over to his way of thinking. If the second moderator succumbs to this, he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his fifth. The parley goes on until a unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting among themselves

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

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and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

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In the Rīf, up to the advent of 'Abd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfiqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfiqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfiqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlīs [262] are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion (*'ār*), and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'Alī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; secondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 175 178 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Riffians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghīl. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rifī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 175 178 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaiah in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith 'Alī, Sīdī 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Muḥand n Sī 'Amar of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Ḥadīfa, and 'Amar n Ṭāhir of Aith 'Abdallāh. This situation, with its concomitant *liff* alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muḥammad n 'Abd al-Karīm made his first appearance upon the Riffian scene. The story of 'Abd al-Karīm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a *qāḍī* of Ajdīr and not the *qā'id* of Aith Wuryāghil, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rīf, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After 'Abd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from «fifth» to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Riffian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Mḥammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Riffian Army; his paternal uncle 'Abd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muḥ Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Aḥmad Būdra, now the *qā'id* of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerable objection on the part of *imghāren* of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered 'Abd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Government in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Riffians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the *liff* alliance system, had to be silenced if the Riffians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. 'Abd al-Karīm forced the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

691 newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it
175 already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles
178 of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'ids* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren;* some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

692 The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian
671 political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier
178 customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

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A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfiya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

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(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

175 caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the
178 one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād*
631 *as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective
443 *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain
438 of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as
443 clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (ba-
439 buches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imsūren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imsūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith ʿAlī u ʿAisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj ʿAbd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [286] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilha, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswiqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriagueln, Africa, Madrid. Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

that held on Mondays at Azghar, and that it was the proposed establishment of this market which led to the seven years' war between Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī, the former being pro-market and the latter con. In any event, whatever their actual origin, the significant fact is that men are entirely excluded (although little boys of ten years or under may go with their mothers). The women buy and sell the usual eggs, chickens, bread and pottery, plus a certain amount of grains, fruits and vegetables, with occasional love charms and objects for warding off the *jnūn* and the evil eye thrown in. The markets are supervised by an *amīna* and are subject to the same market duty as the ordinary markets. In the old days two men, standing at a safe distance from the market, used to act as guards and prohibited other men from entering; this is no longer the case, however, for in recent times, Sánchez Pérez relates that a man from Buqqoya, interested in spotting a future wife for himself, went to the Saturday market at Aith Qamra dressed as a woman. He was soon discovered, however, then denounced to the *amīna* in no uncertain terms, and finally taken to the *qā'id* of Uṭa, who tossed him into jail (21). It is noteworthy that even in regular markets men and women do not talk or mix with each other, save in the transaction of business, but remain sharply and distinctly segregated.

Concerning the market as a commercial center, little remains to be said except that each market in the tribe specializes in certain kinds of products and falls into one of three definite categories: village, «fractional», and tribal. An example of the first is the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, specializing in charcoal, to which go only people from the surrounding villages. The second type is represented by the Monday market at Aith Ḥadīfa and the Thursday market at Imrābdhen; both specialize in grain, and to both come people from Aith 'Abdallāh as well as from the «fifths» in which the markets are located. The third type is represented by three markets: that on Saturday at Imzūren, specializing in fruits and vegetables, which caters as much to people from Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn as from Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī, Aith 'Alī and Imrābdhen; that on Mondays at Izakīren in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, specializing in animals, the most remunerative market in the tribe; and that on Wednesdays at Tu-

(21) Sánchez Pérez, 1943, p. 23.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, [563] while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of [534] gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith [203] Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members [545] of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jībāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, 692 and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

443 Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life 648 has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

tial functions of the market by supplying in with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

Islām in Aith Wuryāghil is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Wuryāghlis observe the «Five Pillars» (profession on faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can, but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Riffian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Rīffian *imrābdhen*, sig. *amrābidh*; Arabic *murābiṭīn*, sing. *murābiṭ*) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, *jnūn* and a local ogress of hideous appearance called *thamsa*, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Wuryāghil and of the Central Rīf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jibāla and the Ghumāra. In the Rīf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Wuryāghil, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zawāwī*) are those of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith Ḥadīfa, Tashtīwen in Jabal Ḥammām (Iḥwaḥwaḥīyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Mis'ūd in Aith Turīrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Ighmīren), Zāwiya 'Alāwīyīn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabḍa), and Sīdī 'Aisā, Sīdī 'Amar u Būkar, Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā and Sīdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-Karīm's time the only one functioning as a *zāwiya* was Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā in Aith Hīshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock of the Saints»; today Sīdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqannīyen, the local headquarters of the 'Alāwīyīn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», The Sociological Review, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfi brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lehong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhín, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximun possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Wuryāghil is born partly out of fear; the Wuryāghlī, in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.